## Message Text

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**ACTION NEA-10** 

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5840

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FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION NEW DELHI INFO BOMBAY MADRAS ON DEC 17, 1974. NOW REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO.

QUOTE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS : PINT, PINS, IN

SUBJECT : MIZORAM: AN ISSUE OF SYMBOLIC AND REAL IMPORTANCE

1. SUMMARY: YOU WILL ALL HAVE NOTICED IN THE PRESS THAT THE MIZO NATIONAL FRONT (MNF) THE INSURGENT GROUP, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT ALL NON-MOZOS MUST QUIT THE UNION TERRITORY BEFORE JANUARY 1, 1975 OR "FACE THE CONSEQUENCES". THE DEMAND BY THE UNDERGROUND REFLECTS TWO THINGS WHICH MAY GET LOST IN THE PUBLIC DEBATE WHICH HAS ALREADY BEGUN (IN THE PRESS AND THE PARLIAMENT). ONE, THE EHNIC-POLITICAL FRUSTRATION OUT OF WHICH SUCH CHAUVINISTIC AND, NATIONALLY VIEWED, UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS ARE MADE IS REAL, DEEP AND WE UNDERSTAND SHARED BY MOST MIZOS. TWO, ALONG ONLY WITH VERY BACKWARD ARUNACHAL PRADESH, THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN MIZORAM NOT TO SPEAK OF THE MILITARY, PARAMILITARY AND COMMERCIAL/BUSINESS SECTORS IS IN FACT DOMINATED, CONTROLLED AND ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS RUN BY NON-MIZOS. END SUMMARY.

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2. SOME FACTS ABOUT MIZORAM AND MIZOS, ACCORDING TO THE 1971

CENSUS. (A) POPULATION: 332,000 OF WHOM 94 PERCENT ARE SCHEDULED TRIBES (ALMOST ALL OF WHOM ARE MIZOS);H(B) NON-TRIBAL POPULATION IN 1971 WAS 19,000 AS AGAINST 5,000 IN 1961 THUS ALMOST QUADRUPLING IN TEN YEARS; (C) RELIGION: 87 PERCENT CHRISTIAN; 7 PERCENT BUDDHIST; 6 PERCENT HINDU; (D) AFTER THE ACTIVE REBELLION BEGAN IN 1966, THE MIZOS WERE FORCED TO MOVE INTO 110 "GROUP CENTERS" BY THE GOI FOR SECURITY REASONS (THESE GROUP CENTERS ARE ON THE PACIFIED VILLAGE ANALOGUE OF VIETNAM): EACH GROUP CENTER HAS AN "ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER"; (E) LITERACY RATE IS 53 PERCENT (MAKING MIZORAM ONE OF THE MOST LITERATE ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN INDIA); (F) TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES WERE BASED ON JHUMING (SLASH AND BURN) AND THESE PRACTICES WERE RADICALLY UPSET BY THE REGROUPING OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES INTO THE GROUP CENTER SYSTEM.

- 3. NON-MIZO ADMINISTRATIVE DOMINATION. WHO'S WHO IN EATERN INDIA LISTS MINISTERS AND THE TWENY OR SO MOST PROMINET CIVIL ADMINISTRATORS FOR EACH STATE IN THE REGION. IN MIZORAM, THE MINISTERS ARE WITHOUT EXCEPTION MIZO. HOWEVER, OF THE TOP TWENTY ADMINISTRATORS LISTED IN WHO'S WHO, THIRTEEN ARE NON-MIZO. IT'S WORTH NOTING BECAUSE THIS HOLDS TRUE IN NO OTHER STATE THAT WE'RE AWARE OF (INCLUDING NEIGHBORING NAGALAND WHERE THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IS ALMOST COMPLETELY NAGA), EXCEPT ARUNACHAL PRADESH. THE LIEUTENT GOVERNOR IS PUNJABI; THE CHIEF SECRETARY IS MARWARI; THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, AIZWAL (THE CAPITAL) IS MARWARI; THE DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE IS A TRIPURA BENGALI; THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION IS A U.P. BENGALI; THE DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES IS ASSAMESE; THE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER IS NEPALI; THE SECRETARY OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IS ASSAMESE; THE DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF TRANSPORT AND SUPPLY ARE BENGALI AND U.P. BANIAS: THE SECRETARY OF LAW, JUDICIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION (WHICH OVERSEES THE GROUP CENTER PROGRAM ON THE CIVILIAN SIDE) IS ASSAMESE: THE SECRETARY TO THE LT. GOVERNOR IS A U. P. BRAHMIN; AND THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE IS A PUNJABI. MIZOS APPEAR IN SEVEN OF THE TOP TWENTY POSITIONS: SECRETARIS OF FINANCE, GENERAL ADMINISTRATION, HEALTH, INFORMATION, PUBLIC RELTIONS. SECRETARY TO THE CHIEF MINISTER AND JOINT DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE.
- 4. THE BUSINESS/COMMERCIAL WORLD IN MIZORAM (TO THE EXTENT IT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXISTS) IS DOMINATED BY MARWARIS, PUNJABIS, BENGALIS AND ASSAMESE. THIS IS A FAMILIAR PATTERN IN THE NORTHEASTERN TRIBAL STATES AND REGULARLY RESULTS IN ETHNIC TENSIONS AND EXPLOSIONS (ETHNIC RIOTS AS IN IMPHAL, MAIPUR TWICE THIS YEAR AND ETHNO-BASED LEGISLATION AS IN MEGHALAYA). IN OCTOBER THIS YEAR THE MIZORAM GOVERNMENT TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO ENACT A BILL SEVERELY LIMITING THE SCOPE FOR NON-TRIBAL TRADERS. IT PASSED THE ASSEMBLY ONLY TO BE REJECTED BY THE GOI

- 5. THE INDIAN ARMY IN MIZORAM AS WELL AS THE CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE, BORDER SECURITY FORCE, ETC. HAS MINIMAL MIZO REPRESENTATION.
- 6. THE ABOVE IS NOT BE READ AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR THE QUIT NOTICE BUT AS A PARTIAL EXPLANATION OF WHY IT HAS TAKEN PLACE AS WELL AS A COMMENT ON WHY IT IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT FOR THE MIZO POLITICIANS TO VIGOROUSLY DEFEND THE NON-MIZO POPULATION COME JANUARY 1.
- 7. COMMENT: THE DEVELOPMENTS AFTER JANUARY 1 WILL BE OF GREAT INTEREST AS IT WILL PERHAPS BE POSSIBLE TO WEIGH SEVERAL HYPOTHESES ABOUT THE MIZO INSURGENCY WHICH HAVE GAINED CURRENCY BUT ABOUT WHICH "HARD" INFORMATION IS SCARCE. THESE INCLUDE: (A) THE MIZO INSURGENCY/UNDERGROUND ENJOYS CONSIDERABLY MORE POPULAR SUPPORT THAN THE NAGA INSURGENCY; (B) THE REGROUPING OF THE MIZO PEOPLE INTO GROUP CENTERS HAS RESULTED IN VERY DEEP POPULAR ALIENATION FROM INDIA, WHICH HAS NO ANALOGUE IN NAGALAND; (C) THE MNF FUNCTIONS MORE OR LESS OPENLY, EVEN IN AIZWAL AND THERE IS LITTLE THE AUTHORITIES CAN DO ABOUT IT; (D) FORMER MNF MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS FORM THE ORGANIZATIONAL BASE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY IN MIZORAM WHICH IS NOW A PART O THE GOVERNING MINISTRY (THE MIZO NATIONAL UNION AND THE CONGRESS HAVING MERGED EARLIER THIS YEAR); (E) WHATEVER HIS COMMENTS IN DELHI OR CALCUTTA, THE MIZORAM CHIEF MINISTER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT HE REPRESENS FIND IT DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO PURQSE ANTI-MNF POLICIES INSIDE THE UNION TERRITORY. ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE (THE QUIT NOTICE), THIS ADDS UP TO A SITUATION WHEREIN THE NON-MIZOS WILL HAVE TO BE PROTECTED BY OTHER NON-MIZOS, THUS BOTH REALLY AND PERHAPS MORE SYMBOLICALLY REINFORCING THE MNG POSITION. AT THE RISK OF SEEMING UNNECESSARILY REDUNDANT, WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT IN THE NAGALAND CONTEXT. THERE WOULD BE NAGA POLICE AND NAGA BSF UNITS WHICH WOULD PROTECT THE OUTSIDE MINORITIES. ROSSELOT UNQUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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